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DD / S H M G E S T R

FILE

Training 3

21 December 1971

11-6373

DD/S 71.4886

27 DEC 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Training
THRU: Deputy Director for Support

Hugh:

If you have not seen Richard J. Barnet's article, "The CIA's New Cover" in the 30 December issue of the New York Review of Books, I suggest you get a copy. I understand he met with our Senior Seminar and I also think I understand your motive in having people like Barnet come to the Seminars.

I think it is unfortunate, however, that he has linked this visit with this highly critical article. I wonder if this might not cause us to re-think the wisdom of having the "Barnet's" visit us. At least we seem to be the loser in this particular case.

As you know, this is something that has worried the Director from time to time.

L. K. White

L. K. White
Executive Director-Comptroller

ExDir/LKWhite:ji

Distribution:

Original - D/OTR via DDS

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1 - ADDP w/ copy New York Review of Books

MORI/CDF Pages 1 and 17

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SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL	
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP			
TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	Executive Director-Comptroller 7-E-12 Headquarters	4 JAN 1972	
2	<i>Colby</i>		
3	<i>DD S</i> <i>BRIEFED AT</i> <i>1-5-72</i>	<i>1-5-72</i>	
4	<i>DTR</i>		
5			
6			
ACTION		DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
APPROVAL		DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
COMMENT		FILE	RETURN
CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION	SIGNATURE
Remarks: Colonel White: The attached memorandum and cover sheet although lengthy and perhaps unnecessarily defensive respond to your comment on the Barnet appearance at the Senior Seminar. I can see the wisdom of exposing students to critics of the Agency and generally endorse the concept. Although a majority of this seminar would apparently endorse inviting Mr. Barnet again I intend to tell Hugh not to do so not because of the content of his presentation or views on the Agency but because he violated our confidence and attempted to trade on his seminar appearance.			
HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER			
ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.		DATE	
John W. [Redacted] Deputy Director for Support 7D26 ext. [Redacted]		30 DEC 1971	
UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL	
		SECRET	

FORM NO. 2-61 237

Use previous editions

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O-567282 (40)

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UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL		SECRET	
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP					
TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS		
1	Executive Director-Comptroller 7-E-12 Headquarters				
2					
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ACTION		DIRECT REPLY		PREPARE REPLY	
APPROVAL		DISPATCH		RECOMMENDATION	
COMMENT		FILE		RETURN	
CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION		SIGNATURE	
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<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 30px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.					
John W. Colley Deputy Director for Support 7D26 ext.				DATE 30 DEC 1971	
UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL		SECRET	
(40)					

FORM NO. 2-61 237

Use previous editions

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O-587282

DD/S:JWC:lhc (30 December 1971)

Distribution:

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1 - DD/S Chrono

1 - DD/S Subject w/copy 22/5 71-4948

DD/S 71-4948: MFR dtd 21 Dec 71 by Chief/Senior Seminar, subj: Senior Seminar Guest Speaker's Article Criticizing CIA

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
	UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL
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OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP			
TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	Executive Director-Comptroller 7E-12 Hqs.		
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	ACTION	DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL	DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT	FILE	RETURN
	CONCURRENCE	INFORMATION	SIGNATURE
Remarks: Colonel White: <p>Although somewhat lengthy, I am forwarding the OTR review of Richard J. Barnet's appearance before the Senior Seminar. I can see the wisdom of exposing students to critics of the Agency and generally endorse the concept. However, Barnet has taken advantage of us and, in a sense, violated our trust. Therefore, I will instruct the Director of Training not to use Barnet again.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">John W. Coffey</p>			
FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER			
FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE
Deputy Director for Support 7D-26 Hqs			
	UNCLASSIFIED	CONFIDENTIAL	SECRET

STAT

29 December 1971

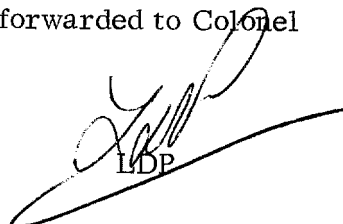
NOTE FOR: Mr. Coffey

In view of Colonel White's interest, I recommend you read the attached carefully before forwarding it to LKW.

I personally find OTR's defense unnecessary. I don't believe Colonel White questions the wisdom of using Agency critics in the Seminar, but rather he questions using critics who try to capitalize on an Agency appearance. I feel that Barnet committed the unpardonable mistake by tying his book review to his visit to the Agency. He should not be invited back since he violated our trust.

There are many reputable critics of the Agency who could be invited and would not do what Barnet did. Also, based on student critiques, I gather Barnet has some difficulty articulating his criticisms of the Agency. So, I recommend the D/TR be instructed not to use Barnet again.

I suggest the OTR review be forwarded to Colonel White with the attached note.


JEDP

P.S. If you agree, and after this is returned by Col. White, I will prepare a memo to the DTR asking him not to invite Barnet again. D

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

Director of Training
1026 Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION

NO.

DTR 7041

DATE

28 December 1971

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1. DD/S
7D26 Hqs

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The attached Memorandum for the Record sets out the whole story of Richard Barnet's appearance at the Senior Seminar.

Two factors connected with this episode cause me to wonder whether we really are "the loser in this particular case":

a. Beginning his article with the boast that he had been invited to appear in our Senior Seminar seems to me to emphasize the point that CIA is not afraid to listen to its critics. The several paragraphs about the Seminar, however tendentious and misleading, do detract a good deal from the points he later goes on to make.

b. One exchange with the students during the Seminar suggests that his article would have been even more critical if he had not been talked down on one of his favorite points. This was his allegation that CIA is engaged [redacted]

[redacted] in the use of torture. He made a good deal of this point to the students; given his grasping at all other types of criticism of CIA he would surely have included this one in the article if he had not been persuaded otherwise.

HUGH T. CUNNINGHAM

DIR-7001

71-4948

21 December 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Senior Seminar Guest Speaker's Article
Criticizing CIA

1. This Memorandum has been prepared as a result of the publication in the New York Review of Books issue of 30 December 1971 of an article by Richard J. Barnet referring to the CIA Senior Seminar. (A copy of the article is contained in Attachment A.) Barnet, Co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. was a guest speaker in the Seminar on 4 November.

2. The Seminar is discussed in the first two paragraphs of the article in which Barnet gives a misleading account (a) of the purpose of the Seminar, (b) of his role in it; and (c) of his discussions with Seminar participants. Contrary to Barnet's assertion, the purpose of the Seminar was definitely not to "consider its (the Agency's) image" except in a limited sense of having the Seminar participants reflect on the subject briefly. Further, in a single paragraph Barnet tendentiously connects previous "conversations with a number of CIA officials," who he believes agree with his views but none of whom are identified, to the Senior Seminar participants with the following statement: "One CIA man after another eagerly joined the discussion to assure me that the days of the flamboyant covert operations were over." One or two participants did indicate agreement with Barnet's contention that technical collection has come to overshadow agent collection, but the recollections of the Seminar Staff and record of the discussion preserved by the Senior Seminar rapporteur for this session simply do not support Barnet's account. (Further details concerning the Seminar discussions with Barnet are contained in Paragraphs 6 and 7 below, following a resume of the circumstances surrounding the Seminar's invitation to Barnet.)

3. Barnet was invited to make a presentation on 4 November to the Senior Seminar as part of the four-day Block of the program devoted to domestic changes which are directly relevant to the Agency. This Block corresponded to the following announced objective of the Seminar:

"To develop greater insight into problems and pressures facing CIA management, the processes of change within the Agency and in its external relationship, and developments in American society which are relevant to CIA as an organization."

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The overall scope note for the "domestic environment" notes that the Block "examines contemporary domestic problems and issues and their impact on national priorities, foreign policy and the Central Intelligence Agency; and explores the relationships of the communications media and public opinion with the executive branch of the U.S. Government in general and with CIA in particular. In this Block the Seminar Staff sought to present "critical" as well as "orthodox" views of problems so that participants would be challenged intellectually. Separate presentations were scheduled on "Social and Cultural Change in American Society -- A Report," "Changing Economic Priorities and the Implications for CIA," "A Youth Viewpoint," "The Drug Culture," "Government and the Media," "CIA and the Media," "A Critic Looks at U.S. Foreign Policy," and "Social and Cultural Change in American Society -- A Perspective." The penultimate was the topic proposed to Mr. Barnet (see Attachment B, copy of topic scope note). Thus in no sense, as his article implies, was he invited to discuss the "Agency image."

4. Our selection of Barnet as a speaker was based on several considerations. He has achieved prominence as an articulate, if a hairshirt, critic of U.S. foreign policy via his books and articles (one of the latter, an excerpt from his latest book Washington Plans an Aggressive War, appeared in Harper's just a few days prior to his scheduled session with the Seminar.) He is not totally ignorant of the foreign policy process, as some academic critics are. Finally, I knew him personally from our service in the U.S. Disarmament Administration and its successor ACDA and believed he would live up to his billing as a "critic."

5. Prior to making any move to invite Barnet, I submitted his name, along with that of many other possible guest speakers, to the Office of Security. Approval to use Barnet on an unclassified basis was granted by Security on 1 September. Contrary to the usual Seminar practice of writing a formal letter of invitation outlining the nature and objectives of the Seminar, our contact was limited to my telephone call inviting him to speak and a follow-up letter asking for his suggestions concerning pertinent reading material and arranging details of his transportation to and from the Seminar site. (See Attachment C for a copy of the letter to Barnet.) His name was listed in the Senior Seminar guest speakers regularly forwarded to the DD/S by the OTR Speaker Coordinator.

6. The salient points of Barnet's formal presentation and ensuing discussion period were recorded by [redacted] Chief, STAT Personnel Security Division, Office of Security, who acted as Seminar rapporteur for the Block in which Barnet appeared. (See Attachment D for Rapporteur's summary of Barnet's session with the Seminar.) His presentation consisted of two hours with the Seminar members which commenced with formal lecture-style remarks

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for one hour. His comments were critical, in a rather rambling fashion, of present day U.S. foreign policy. He particularly emphasized the impact of the Nixon Doctrine on foreign policy, contending that the Doctrine is a throwback to the Cold War and the policies of that era. Moreover, he claimed that CIA is an antiquated instrument of that cold war and its image is that of a "sinister force."

7. Following Barnet's formal remarks and a coffee break, the Seminar group reassembled in the Seminar lounge for discussions. Several questions were put to Mr. Barnet, but his detailed responses left far more questions unanswered than the group would have liked. Despite an occasional question posed by Barnet, no specific information was volunteered by the Seminar members. There was one lively exchange stemming from his claim that CIA is responsible for [redacted] methods of inter- STAT
rogation with primary reliance upon the use of physical torture. When considerable skepticism was expressed by the group, the speaker asserted he had his information on "good authority" -- a personal friend. Pressed further to identify his source, Barnet claimed that [redacted] had given him STAT
this information. (Incidentally, he did not allude to this contention in the N.Y. Review article.)

8. Near the close of the discussion period, Barnet raised the charge that CIA has engaged in assassination. I joined several members of the Seminar in rejecting this claim in a most positive manner. Notwithstanding, he concluded his article with a general reference to the Agency's having developed "brilliant techniques" for assassination, sabotage and deception.

9. Following the informal session, five of the participants and I took Barnet to lunch since he had declined the Seminar's proffered honorarium on the basis that it was against the policy of his institution to accept government money. The conversation at lunch, according to the recollections of those of us in attendance, would certainly not have generated any of the allegations in the Review article.

10. The Seminar members were not particularly impressed with Barnet's theses or arguments. Some members expressed astonishment over the apparent lack of knowledge on the speaker's part as well as the sources of his information. Most Seminar members did state, however, in their critiques that they found him provocative and stimulating. (See Attachment E, copy of student evaluations of Barnet.)

[redacted]

Chief, Senior Seminar

Atts: A/S

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Executive Registry
71-6383

DATE 71/1/886

21 December 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Training
THRU: Deputy Director for Support

Hugh:

If you have not seen Richard J. Barnet's article, "The CIA's New Cover" in the 30 December issue of the New York Review of Books, I suggest you get a copy. I understand he met with our Senior Seminar and I also think I understand your motive in having people like Barnet come to the Seminars.

I think it is unfortunate, however, that he has linked this visit with this highly critical article. I wonder if this might not cause us to re-think the wisdom of having the "Barnet's" visit us. At least we seem to be the loser in this particular case.

As you know, this is something that has worried the Director from time to time.

[Redacted Signature]

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L. K. White
Executive Director-Comptroller

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SOURCE: THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS - 30 December 1971

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A CRITIC LOOKS AT US FOREIGN POLICY

The presentation will take a close look at U.S. foreign policy and will examine those elements and areas of foreign policy which have produced opposition and alienation among many segments of American society. The purpose of this analysis is to identify the changes in the attitudes of the American public -- "the lessons learned" -- which will influence future lines of foreign policy. U.S. involvement in Vietnam should be included in the discussion. The presentation should include the speaker's views as to implications of the Vietnam involvement for the foreign policy agencies of government, including CIA. The subject matters should not be restricted to Vietnam and other areas of foreign policy and US involvement should also be examined. Suggestions for change in U.S. foreign policy lines or in the policy-making structure, might be offered.

TAB

10 September 1971

Dr. Richard J. Barnett
Co-director, Institute for Policy Studies
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Dr. Barnett:

[redacted] has told me about his conversation with you concerning your willingness to speak to the CIA Senior Seminar and has asked that I write you about the details of your appearance. STAT

You have been scheduled for 9:30 a.m., Thursday, 4 November. The Senior Seminar is located on the 10th floor of the Arlington Chamber of Commerce Building, 4600 Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Virginia; near the intersection of Glebe Road and Fairfax Drive. I will be in contact with you later to offer any assistance in traveling to the building which you may require.

Regarding the nature of your presentation, I am attaching a "scope note" which should suggest the general framework for your presentation. After your talk of up to an hour or more, we hope to have a discussion. In order to foster this, your suggestions as to books and articles, other than your piece which will appear in Harper's November issue, to which we may refer the Seminar participants in advance will be appreciated. In addition, a biographic sketch of yourself to pass out to our Seminar participants would be helpful.

Don has told me that the policy of your Institute precludes your acceptance of an honorarium. I hope, however, your schedule will be flexible enough to allow us to take you to lunch following your appearance.

If you have any questions or comments please feel free to call me on number [redacted] STAT

Sincerely yours,

/s/

[redacted]
Senior Seminar Staff
Office of Training
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505 STAT

Att: A/S

TAB

BLOCK V-B- The Environment of CIA: Unofficial Relationships

STAT

18 November 1971

Critical Analysis of Foreign Policy

Speaker: Richard J. Barnet

The speaker expressed the position that the post-World War II period found the U. S. as a supreme power and it was our "Empire" policy to remain number one. In the Truman doctrine, we took over from the British, and the policy worked for over 20 years, in spite of mistakes, because we were so strong.

The speaker indicated that the fundamental failure of U. S. policy is that we are no longer operating in a 19th century concept; we have over-reacted; and dissipated our resources. There are vast areas of the world with their own politics. There are no power blocs now. In this regard, it was stated that the Nixon approach to peace in Vietnam, through the USSR and China, is a mistake. The Soviets want peace but cannot deliver.

According to the speaker, CIA exists because of a "bureaucratic history. The OSS developed an intelligence apparatus and it was unthinkable to let go. Our capabilities determine the requirements. In the Eisenhower era, it was part of the "more bangs for a buck" approach - particularly on CIA activities. We may be returning to this approach under Nixon.

The general image of CIA is that of a "sinister force" - part of a foreign policy which involves control and domination. There has been some improvement in the Agency image as a result of disclosures in the Pentagon papers, but it would be a mistake to get involved in such countries as Brazil and Chile. Basically, the speaker expressed opposition to all clandestine operations. The attempt to get involved in Laos type operations holds great dangers and will defeat our purposes. The Agency will not be able to "carry it off."

In the question and answer period, the speaker indicated that the great security threat to the U. S. is internal; we should not be involved in counter-insurgency operations; and our industry has become too dependent on the U. S. Government. We should be using our financial resources to increase our efficiency and become more competitive in the world market. The U. S. should favor the development of a "rational world economy" while accepting limitations on our power. Although the speaker considers the Soviets to be more dangerous today than in the 1950's, we should deal with them as "equals" and cut down on cold war tensions. There was heavy discussion on the Nixon approach to Vietnam, with the speaker favoring support to neutralist forces and Communist participation in the South Vietnamese Government. There was also heavy discussion on the theme that we should encourage Russian bureaucrats and decrease the power of the Soviet military. The speaker touched upon CIA involvement in "assassination plans" as mentioned by newspaperman Jack Anderson.

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